Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

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NMU, SIU Leaders Undermine Fight For Hiring Hall

MARCH 28 — Truman's Supreme Court today once again refused to review the decision of a lower court which last August outlawed the union hiring hall for the maritime industry under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. The decision brazenly flaunted the contempt of the shipowners and their government for the conference of representatives of seven seafaring unions who had met in Washington only one week ago, presumably to plan concerted measures in defense of the hiring hall.

Adopted by the officials of the CIO, National Maritime Union, the AFL Seafarers International Union, the independent Marine Firemen's Union, the deck engineer and radio officers unions of the AFL and CIO, the program of the conference was not calculated to inspire fear among the enemies of maritime unionism. The program of action does not contain a single concrete proposal for meeting attempts to smash the hiring hall. In effect, it limits itself to an appeal to Congress to pass the Magnuson - Lesinski amendment to the Taft - Hartley Law, exempting the seafaring unions from the closed shop provisions of that law.

The conference, as is now revealed by its statement, had no intention of drafting a fighting program. Lundeberg and Curran had three entirely different objectives in mind which transformed the conference into a conspiracy of bureaucrats against the rank and file of the seamen rather than a powerful phalanx in defense of their interests.

THREE OBJECTIVES

First: an attempt to persuade the shipowners that under bureaucratic control the union hiring hall would not be a shield for the militants on the ships but repressive weapon against the militants.

Second: an attempt to persuade the State Department that the seamen could more effectively be dragooned into Wall Street's cold war under the commands of the union brass hats than under the open shop.

Third: a mutual assistance pact by the bureaucrats against opposition within any of the unions. This pact is directed solely against militants and critics and not against cannibal unionism and jurisdictional raiding.

In its very second paragraph, after a perfunctory denunciation for the record of "certain forces of the National Association of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce, shipowners . . . [who] are fully determined to destroy trade unionism in the maritime industry," the conferees warn the shipowners and the government of the "chaos" that would prevail if the bureaucrats should lose their dictatorial power over the seamen.

They begin with the double frameup of bracketing the Socialist Workers Party with the Communist Party and of accusing both of being "actively engaged in trying to destroy our union hiring practises." That this is not

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Swedish Socialist Group Declares in Favor of 4th Int'l

A dissident tendency in the ranks of the Swedish Left Socialist Party has formally come out in favor of the world Trotskyist movement. In a resolution declaring in favor of the Fourth International, it is stated:

"History has proved that there is only one International which kept the revolutionary spirit alive during the (last) imperialist war and which has given examples of individual and collective courage that can be denied by no historians, not even those of the bourgeoisie, nor by any of those people who claim monopoly of anti-fascist struggle. . .

"The partisans of the Fourth International take no responsibility whatsoever for any of the governments existing today. They feel responsible only to the working class with whom they are ideologically fused. Leninism-Trotskyism showed the way to the victory of the revolution in 1917-21, even if the Stalinist bureaucracy later usurped the fruits of this victory. The struggle against the capitalist system and for the victory of the revolution and socialism will continue because only this struggle can prevent the outbreak of the third world war."

DID THAT $125-BILLION GO TO 'DISARM' U. S.?

Not satisfied with the more than $125-billion they've milked from the American people since the end of the war and the 13-billion they're getting for the fiscal year 1951, the professional militarists and Big Brass are demanding virtually unlimited access to the federal treasury.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who as president of Columbia University commands one of the chief beachheads of militarism in education, has opened a new drive by the military with the objective of winning unconditional surrender of the public trough.

As Congress prepared to grant almost all of the monstrous war budget submitted by Truman, Eisenhower made an address at his university in which he stated that "America has already disarmed to the extent — in some directions even beyond the extent — that I, with deep concern for her present safety, could possibly advise. . . "

If stockpiling atom bombs, building the H-Bomb and spending on militarism an average $25-billion annually for five years is "disarming," how much will it take to "arm" the military to their own satisfaction?

"NO LIMIT" AIM

Eisenhower indicated the "No Limit" aim of the militarists when he complained that present U. S. imperialist war preparations are "for defense only" and that "hardly a dollar" is added to the military budget "without long and public debate." The generals and admirals want the unrestricted right to siphon the treasury without discussion by Congress, let alone the American people who foot the bill.

This, of course, is no different than their attitude on the question of war and peace. They are itching to try out their new annihilation weapons and they don't want the people to have a say as to when, or if, humanity is to be blasted and radioactivized off the earth.

Eisenhower knows what another war will cost in terms of human survival, but he said: "Far better to risk a war of possible annihilation than grasp a peace which would be certain extinction of free man's ideas and ideals." Meaning, far better obliterate all life than permit a world without American imperialism (and its military caste).

Eisenhower has embarrassed the Truman administration, which has replied through Secretary of Defense Johnson that the proposed military budget is "sufficient to the moment." The "moment" being a Congressional election year, not a politically expedient time to slash the already meager sums for social welfare and to boost taxes, the only way to boost military funds in the present state of government finances.

But Eisenhower recently decried social welfare measures. The workers won't need them if the Eisenhowers prevent the "extinction of free man's ideas" by the extinction of man.

The Modern Oliver Twist

Burglars Break Into, Rob SWP Headquarters

NEW YORK, March 30 — Burglars broke into the national headquarters building of the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant at 116 University Place here early this morning and stole several hundred dollars in cash and stamps.

All desks and files were searched and papers and literature scattered around wildly, but nothing was found missing except money, stamps and some minor equipment of cash value.

Considerable property damage was sustained. The thieves systematically jimmied their way into all the locked offices, smashing doors and locks.

The metal-plated doors which give entrance from the stairway to the offices on each floor were ripped open with what appears to be a crow-bar. The door to the Militant business office was smashed in two. Several filing cabinets in the morgue of the editorial office were badly damaged.

From all appearances it was a burglary job such as are frequent in the office - building and loft area in this city. The police investigator said it had a professional touch. The intruders did not appear to be interested in anything but cash or valuables.

A heavy metal filing cabinet resembling a safe was carted from near a window in the Militant business office to the center of the room. There the burglars pried open the lock, but abandoned their work when they found nothing of monetary value. They failed to notice the key hanging from a chain on the cabinet.

60 HARVARD PROFESSORS HIT FIRING OF KUTCHER

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., March 29 — Sixty prominent members of the Harvard University faculty today announced their opposition to the government's "loyalty" purge of the legless veteran, James Kutcher. Kutcher was fired from his job as a clerk in the Newark VA because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party and has challenged the government's "loyalty" program as unconstitutional in a civil suit filed in the U. S. District Court at Washington, D. C.

The signers of the Harvard statement included Kirtley F. Mather, president-elect of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., professor of history and Pulitzer prize winner; William Ernest Hocking, emeritus professor of philosophy; Mark DeWolfe Howe, professor of law; Sidney B. Fay, emeritus professor of history; Pitirim A. Sorokin; H. Stuart Hughes; F. O. Matthiessen; Howard Mumford Jones; Harlow Shapley; Morton G. White; Albert J. Guerard; Alice Hamilton; James R. Hightower; William C. Greene; Clarence H. Haring; Jacob Fine; Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Their statement declared that **"administrative agencies have been and are dealing with government employees in procedures which violate the basic decencies of notice and hearing that are part of our tradition of due process of law. People are being fired from jobs and are being forced to suffer various indignities, not the least of which is impugnment of character.**

"FRIGHTENING TRENDS"

"These are general trends about which we are already aware; but civil rights have to be defended in terms of individual cases. All over the country both prominent and unknown men are at the present time receiving the same type of arbitrary treatment that Dr. Edward Condon was subjected to last year. Most of these cases do not even become 'cases' but proceed behind our backs. Nevertheless they create a frightening atmosphere that cuts the nerve of independent thinking.

"As members of a university community we are concerned with the state of civil liberties today. In such matters we think that administrative agencies, using procedures which lend themselves to arbitrary action, should be subject to control both by public criticism and by judicial review. We think that doctrines of 'guilt by association' are inconsistent with genuine freedom of association and freedom of thought. Because we are concerned with both these freedoms, we protest their denial in the case of James Kutcher."

High Court Upholds Dennis Conviction

The U. S. Supreme Court, by a 5-2 verdict on March 27, upheld the contempt - of - Congress conviction of Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, who had been convicted for refusal to answer a subpoena to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The court denied his appeal that he did not get a fair trial because the jury included federal employees who would be afraid to acquit him.

Justice Hugo L. Black, who dissented, stated that under the "prevailing pattern of loyalty investigations" government employees have "good reason to fear that an honest vote to acquit a Communist . . . might be considered a 'disloyal' act which could easily cost them their job."

Jobless Ranks Keep Growing; Action Needed

ADA and ACLU Condemn Mundt-Police-State Bill

Americans for Democratic Action and the American Civil Liberties Union last week expressed their "complete and unalterable" opposition to the Mundt - Nixon police - state bill. They are among the growing number of labor and liberal organizations which have publicly condemned the bill as a threat to all civil liberties and an attempt to impose totalitarian thought-control on the American people.

Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel of the ACLU, and Benjamin C. Sigal, chairman of the Washington chapter of the ADA, spoke against the bill on March 28 at hearings before the House Un - American Activities Committee, the notorious witch-hunt body that was just voted a big supplemental appropriation with the support of the Trumanites.

The House hearing is on the Nixon bill, the counterpart of the Senate's Mundt bill. The latter was recently approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee with the favorable vote of several leading Democratic "Fair Dealers."

WHAT IT PROSCRIBES

Hays charged that the bill was a "catch-all." He asked: "If the bill becomes law, and a person advocates its repeal, is he then performing 'an act which would substantially contribute to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship?' If Mrs. Roosevelt again invites Paul Robeson to appear on her television program, is she to be indictable under this section?" He also asked, "Is it criminal to publish 'Das Kapital' or to put it in a library?"

He said that the bill would "destroy any new minority political party which espoused things you didn't like." Today, he said, "the Communists are condemned. . . What of tomorrow? May the Congress of some future day conclude that other political faiths are equally 'un-American' and 'subversive' and must, therefore, be subjected to restraints and penalties?"

The spokesman for ADA, who are liberal supporters of the Truman administration, declared the bill "seriously curtails rights of free speech and thought" and that while the ADA is "unalterably opposed to Communism, we are equally opposed to any denial of the basic civil rights and liberties."

CIO and AFL spokesmen had previously opposed the bill at the hearings.

Truman Continues to Ignore Plight of Increasing Millions

By Art Preis

Truman's "Welfare State" is displaying in ever more acute form one of the chief symptoms of diseased capitalism — mass unemployment. The growing number of jobless — almost five million according to the government's own conservative figures — has produced calls for action everywhere but in the White House.

Even the fossilized AFL top bureaucrats, who blithely dismissed the situation a few weeks ago as "not alarming," now admit that the unemployment statistics are "disturbing" and that it is "imperative" that measures be taken to halt the trend.

The current Labor's Monthly Survey, official AFL publication distributed to the Federation's 107 unions, for the first time warns that unemployment "has reached proportions which call for action" and "if allowed to increase it will be too late to stem the tide."

The drain on unemployment compensation funds, the lengthening relief lines and growing pressure for more relief expenditures, the steady stream of young workers pushing into an already overcrowded labor market are facts that not even the capitalist press can ignore. Business Week of March 25 features a lengthy analysis called "Unemployment Shows Up All Over." It declares:

NEAR DEPRESSION LEVEL

"The nation's unemployment map gives you some idea of the general worsening of the labor market. It shows 'very substantial' (12% or over) unemployment in 43 of 163 national labor market areas; 'substantial' (7% to 11.9%) unemployment in 83 of the 163 areas. That adds up to a serious situation in 126 of 163 labor-market areas."

It makes the startling point that unemployment has now reached "a level only 2-million less than the total during 1937," a depression year. At the present rate in which new job-seekers are flooding into the market and workers over 45 are being "rationalized" out of jobs, the 1937 level will be reached and passed within the next 12 months.

One of the gravest features of the present unemployment is the ever greater number of workers who are being cast off into permanent disemployment and who have used up all their unemployment compensation allowances. In the March 27 N. Y. Times, A. H. Raskin calls attention to this most tragic phase of current unemployment:

"Two million workers in various parts of the country exhausted their insurance rights last year and 800,000 of these wound up the year still out of work." In New York State alone this year, Raskin reports, 160,000 have already drawn all their unemployment compensation checks. Massachusetts and Rhole Island are calling for federal finances to "bail out their depleted job insurance funds" and "one-fifth of Oregon's labor force is on the insurance rolls."

This is the situation, he emphasizes, "at a time when demand for steel, automobiles and other products was at near-record levels." But what worries the officials and economists most "is the evidence that employment opportunities are not increasing

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N. J. PAPER STRIKE ENDS ON DISASTROUS TERMS

NEWARK, March 27 — A 9½-month strike at the Continental Paper Company in Ridgefield Park, N. J., ended last week with a settlement that marked a terrible setback for the strikers, belonging to Local 299 of the CIO United Paper Workers.

The company, which did a ten million dollar business although it had only 385 production workers when the strike began last July 5, threatened to shut down for good about a month ago. This threat led to intervention by international and state CIO leaders and a settlement even more damaging to labor's rights than the one at Bell Aircraft in Buffalo last year.

The company demanded — and the union agreed — that Anthony Adamo, the regional director in charge of the strike, be withdrawn from all future relations with Continental, and that the local president, Ernest Fritz, resign from his post. (Unlike the situation at Bell, the company did not even accuse Adamo and Fritz of being "subversive;" their only "crime" was that they led militant activities on the picket line.)

VETO POWER

In addition to this blow at the local's independence, the company demanded that Harry Sayre, international president of the union who participated in the settlement discussions, appoint an administrator who would have the power of veto over the local's decisions. The union accepted this demand too at Sayre's recommendation.

The settlement sent the workers back to the plant at the same hourly pay scale in effect before the strike, but minus the benefits of a "share of production" pay scheme, under which the workers had received some $325,000 during a year, one-half in cash and one-half in the form of payments to a retirement and pension fund.

Besides this, the settlement provided that there shall be no collective bargaining or contract discussions for at least three and not more than six months.

Finally, it was agreed that the case of an employee, whose dismissal without reason had been the immediate cause of the strike, will be arbitrated.

THE WORST ASPECT

It has been a long time since any union in this area has accepted such humiliating and dangerous terms for settling a strike. With the exception of seniority, the company will be able to do just about as it wishes for six months. It is not difficult to foresee what this will mean in terms of worsened working conditions. To top things off, the workers will have a "responsible" administrator hanging over them to try to prevent any militant resistance.

But the worst thing about the settlement, it is agreed by unionists in this area, is that it has granted a form of recognition to the company's "right" to dictate who can and who cannot lead the union.

This stipulation, invading the union's right to choose its own representatives, is a warning signal of the kind of treatment the employers in this country have in store for the unions wherever and whenever they have the power to put it into effect.

Trumanites Vote Funds to Witch-Hunt Body

By John F. Petrone

In 1948 Truman referred to the House Un-American Committee, then controlled by the Republicans, as a "dead duck." Today, when the Democrats are in control, it is not only the liveliest but also the richest duck in history.

In 1949 the witch-hunt committee asked for — and received — $200,000, the biggest appropriation it ever got. Last week it asked for — and again received — a supplementary appropriation of $150,000.

Truman's remark was an implied promise to do away with the hated inquisition committee. But in the vote on the appropriation on March 23, only 12 members of the House of Representatives voted against. This meant that the overwhelming majority of the Trumanite "Fair Dealers," including Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., voted in favor.

To justify the granting of this money, the committee's chairman, John S. Wood (D., Ga.) gave the House a report on some of its activities. Its staff, he said, is now busy carding, filing and indexing the names of more than 1,000,000 people throughout the world "who are known to be engaged in subversive activities."

THE NEW "BIBLE"

It is also bringing up to date its "Bible" of "subversive activities" in the U. S. — "Appendix IX," which contains the names of "several thousand organizations" and "more than 250,000 individuals."

Despite the emphasis Wood put on these "achievements," they don't represent the major activity of his committee. For the committee is now holding hearings on the House counterpart of the Mundt-Ferguson police-state bill, which has already been reported to the Senate.

It is a foregone conclusion that the House committee will act favorably on this measure empowering the government to penalize, discriminate against and even outlaw any working class organization in the country.

Meanwhile, there were other alarming moves against civil rights in other congressional committees. The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee was holding a hearing on a bill which had been introduced at the request of Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson.

This measure would give the Secretaries of State, Defense, Army, Navy, Air Force and Treasury and the heads of other key government agencies the right to fire anyone in these departments, without informing them of the specific reasons and without granting them the right to a hearing or review, except by the official who fires them. And that, of course, would mean no real right to a review at all.

NEW POWERS FOR FBI

This aspect of the bill has drawn a certain amount of criticism from labor and veterans organizations. An AFL representative urged that it be changed to provide for impartial review. But to the undying shame of the AFL leadership, he did not speak against the bill itself, which even a Republican congressman denounced as "arbitrary power. . . not compatible with our form of government."

In another field, the House has added amendments to the National Science Foundation bill, which would make the FBI policeman, prosecutor, judge and jury in deciding on the "loyalty" of all Foundation employees.

This goes so far in openly transforming the FBI into an American version of the Gestapo that even the FBI has asked Congress to reconsider. The FBI is willing enough to serve as a political police agency, but it doesn't want to be put in a position at the present time where it will have to take the rap in case there is a mass upheaval against the witch-hunt.

The Truman administration and the FBI want to do the thing one step at a time, by stages. That's why they are a little embarrassed when the House invites unfavorable public reaction by its tendency to rush and overdo things.

European Notebook

Royal Question In Belgium

By Ernest Germain

In Belgium, as in Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece, the upsurge of the masses toward the end of Nazi occupation shook to its foundations the traditional props of the monarchy. Prior to the war King Leopold III showed strong authoritarian learnings. He threatened the old Socialist leader Vandervelde with the establishment of an extra-parliamentary regime in the event that the Socialist Party provoked a ministerial crisis at a "delicate" moment in the international situation. He gave behind-the-scene protection to semi-fascist journalists and politicians who wanted to utilize the Nazi occupation of Belgium in order to destroy bourgeois democracy completely.

He had contacts and interviews with Hitler. Prior to his forced departure from the country, he left a "political testament" in which he expressed all his mistrust of "the regime of parties." In a word, his political attitude faithfully reflected that of the most reactionary circles in the country.

AFTER THE WAR

When Leopold III was liberated by the American armies from his far from arduous "captivity" in Saint-Wolfgang, Austria, the country rose up in arms to prevent his return. The workers threatened to go out immediately on a general strike to settle the issue once and for all. At Charleroi a powerful demonstration of 10,000, led by a small group of Trotskyists, took up the slogan of the Republic launched by the Belgian section of the Fourth International. The bourgeoisie, without a strong state apparatus, without sizable financial reserves, caught unawares and isolated from public opinion, hesitated to impose "its" king upon the country.

A special ministerial committee — the minutes of its deliberations have just been published! — came to the conclusion that in case of trouble they had no means of enforcing law and order. That is why the capitalists accepted a compromise solution which the reformist and Stalinist leaders zealously offered them: The King would not be deposed from the throne; he would simply be declared in a state of "incapacity to rule owing to the enemy (!)" and the regency under Prince Charles, brother of Leopold III, would be proclaimed immediately. This was decided upon after several stormy sessions of Parliament in 1945.

PRODUCTION, PROFITS UP

Five years have passed. During these five years the Belgian bourgeoisie, benefitting from the accumulated superprofits from the Congo colony; and from a favorable trade balance with the U. S.; and from a productive apparatus which had suffered little, if any, damage in the war, proceeded at top speed to produce, to export, to sell and to coin profits. In 1948 the Belgian-Luxembourg economic union stood fourth among the world powers in the absolute figures of its exports, which surpassed those of France, India, Germany, Japan, Argentina and other major countries. An unprecedented boom filled the coffers of the capitalists with fabulous profits. Of all the capitals of Europe, Brussels had the largest number of American cars, nylon stockings and neon lights.

The entire boom flourished thanks to the "wise" policy of the reformist and Stalinist leaders who guaranteed "social peace" and who told the workers that it was necessary "above all else to produce right now and make demands later." The constant rise in prices was accompanied by a rigid wage freeze. A few very limited social reforms, such as social security and higher family allowances, were supposed to recompense the workers for the drop in real wages.

The consequences of this policy, foreseen long in advance by the revolutionary socialists, were not long in disclosing themselves. A productive apparatus in full expansion ran up against a shrinking domestic market owing to the declining buying power of wages. The monopoly enjoyed by Belgian industry in foreign markets during the first postwar years in the absence of French, German and Italian exports, was soon broken by many competitors. A grave crisis started to unfold. Unemployment fluctuated between 100,000 and 200,000 and then between 250,000 and 300,000, a level at which it has remained for more than a year.

Having attacked the problem of production, the bourgeoisie next turned to that of productivity and rationalization. It was found necessary to speed up work, slash wages and expenditures for social legislation in order to "reduce costs," in a word, a frontal assault on the workers' living standards. The relationship of forces had changed. The bourgeoisie no longer needed "Socialist" ministers; they had already rendered their services and now there was nothing left for them to do except to get out.

TEST OF STRENGTH

Following the 1949 elections, which marked a shift to the right by the middle classes, a government was formed exclusively of ministers from two bourgeois parties — Catholic and Liberal. But the bourgeoisie demanded a more decisive test of strength. The "royal question" was then brought to the fore again. The government proposed and the Parliament adopted the project of a referendum ("popular consultation") whereby the people could pass on this question and put an end to Leopold's "incapacity to rule."

This referendum took place on March 12 and gave a slim majority of 57.5% in favor of Leopold's return. In Wallonia and Brussels the majority opposed the King's return while in Flanders the partisans of his return constituted the large majority.

Then the reformist leaders, the same ones who according to their own admissions had been in a position in 1945 to settle the "royal question" once and for all but who preferred to let slip this exceptional opportunity, began to take fright. The working masses of the big cities began to bring enormous pressure to bear upon them. Three days after the "popular consultation" strikes broke out spontaneously in all the industrial centers, embracing in a few days more than 200,000 workers. The bourgeoisie, wishing to press its test of strength to the very end, began to threaten the Socialist Party with repressions. Bombs were exploded in front of "People's Homes." Socialist propagandists were attacked by gangs of reactionary rowdies. The reactionary press unleashed an anti-parliamentary, openly semi-fascist campaign, attacking organized labor as a "mob."

Fearful of being excluded for many years from the exercise of their lucrative functions in the framework of bourgeois democracy, the Socialist leaders decided to place themselves at the head of the working class struggles against Leopold III. The Socialist Party conference, held on March 19, decided unanimously to oppose "by every means possible" the return of Leopold III. The next day there was a congress held by the committees of action which had been set up in all the principal industrial centers; here it was decided to proclaim a general strike on March 24.

Thus the "royal question" has gone far beyond the scarcely imposing personality of Leopold III. It has become a test of strength — the direct and extra-parliamentary strength — between the organized working class and the bourgeoisie, unquestionably the most important test in Western Europe since the Italian general strike of July 14, 1948. All the class-conscious workers, all the revolutionary militants who had clearly foreseen the course of events, are to be found in the front ranks of the struggle against Leopold III.

REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

They are supporting every measure by the Socialist Party to organize resistance against the threat of the dictatorial state. To render this struggle more effective and help assure victory, they advocate: election of rank and file committees in the factories; linking up immediate economic demands with the struggle against Leopold III; formation of workers' militia to defend labor organizations against gangster attacks of reaction; separation of church and state to put an end to the intolerable political influences of the church hierarchy; abolition of the Senate, which is elected indirectly and where the Catholic Party holds the majority; abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic.

Fighting in the front ranks of working class resistance to Leopold III, the revolutionary militants are seeking to create conditions favorable for unleashing a working class counter-offensive aimed at solving all the political and social questions by the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' government based on the committees and under their control.

Cochran Talks on Labor's Outlook At Detroit Rally

DETROIT, March 26—A steady downpour of rain failed to dampen the enthusiasm of a near capacity audience, made up mostly of auto workers, who gathered here to listen to Bert Cochran, trade union chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

Speaking on "The Outlook for American Labor in 1950—Modern Strike Strategy and Prospects for an Aggressive Labor Leadership," Cochran scored the present labor leaders who are busy promoting the State Department's foreign policy and the domestic witch-hunt while ignoring the economic and political problems of the workers.

He compared the present labor bureaucrats with the Social Democratic labor leaders in Europe before and after World War I, saying that the latter were farseeing leaders compared to the Murrays, Greens and Reuthers. He branded as unrealistic and unrealizable the present leaders' strategy of seeking reforms by hog-tying the labor movement to the imperialist plans of the State Department.

Cochran declared that the future radicalization of the masses seeking a solution to their economic and political problems will sweep these leaders away just as the march of events swallowed up the old Social Democratic leaders. He noted that all bureaucracies appear solid and immovable, but that they crumble and can be replaced by a new leadership which springs from the ranks of labor itself.

A lively question and discussion period followed, and informal discussion was carried over to a social period after the meeting. SWP members took advantage of Comrade Cochran's presence to discuss important local problems with him.

Following is the schedule for Bert Cochran's national tour on "The Outlook for Labor":

Seattle	Apr.	5-8
San Francisco-Oakland	"	9-12
Los Angeles	"	15-20
St. Louis	"	22
Cleveland	"	23-24
Akron	"	25
Youngstown	"	26-27
Pittsburgh	"	28
New York	"	30
"	May	1
Philadelphia	"	2-3
Newark	"	6

NMU, SIU Heads Weaken Hiring-Hall Fight

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just redbaiting becomes clear from the next paragraph. It opens with a description of the evils of a return to the fink-hall days. But it concludes by saying that such a situation "would also allow the Communist Party, Trotskyites and splinter groups to continue their wrecking tactics in the maritime industry."

CHING'S STATEMENT

The real meaning is transparent: the shipowner's blacklist is inferior to the bureaucrat's blacklist; the hiring hall under Curran-Lundeberg control can become a screening center to purge insurgent militants. In his letter to the Senate sub-committee on the Magnuson-Lesinski Bill, the government mediator, Cyrus Ching, clearly indicated that government, shipowners and union bureaucrats see eye to eye on this point. He wrote:

"Employers in the maritime industry . . . regard well run union hiring halls as either essential or significantly important for industrial stability in the industry. They express criticisms of some of the practises in vogue in such halls, desire to eliminate them primarily by bargaining but wish to resort to union hiring halls as their source of manpower."

Added weight was given Ching's remarks by the failure of any important section of the shipowners to testify at the hearings. They were buttressed also by the strangely "friendly" attitude of the arch-enemy of organized labor, Senator Taft, who apparently is prepared to except the maritime unions from some of the fetters of his slave labor statute.

MAIN ATTACK

Under such conditions, with the tacit support and connivance of the shipowners, Lundeberg and Curran were able to center their main attack against internal opposition. The attack itself is a tissue of lies, misrepresentation and distortion, a smokescreen for the consolidation of bureaucratic dictatorships.

The charge against the Stalinists is historically true in the sense that they were ready to capitulate to the government's plans to undermine the hiring hall in the Thirties and during the war. But the finger that points at them points also at Curran who was their willing and docile tool in all those years. In the one seafaring union the Stalinists still control today, the Pacific Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards (MC&S), their policy of making the hiring hall "respectable" is essentially similar in all respects to that of Lundeberg-Curran and Co.

On the other hand, the facts show that the accusation against "the Socialist Workers Party known as Trotskyites" is a lie concocted out of the whole cloth, a frameup of the Moscow Trial vintage. The record of the SWP, its members and supporters, is unblemished and unparalleled in its intransigeant defense of the union hiring hall throughout the years, in war as in peace, against all its enemies, government, shipowners, Stalinists and now the fakers who are trying to convert the hiring hall into their own private job trust.

CONVENIENT BRAND

For Curran as for Lundeberg, the word "Trotskyite" is a convenient brand to place on all their opponents, a device to silence them or drive them out of the union. The **NMU Pilot** gives the game away: "The use of the name of the 'Socialist Workers Party' was intended to put an end to the double talk around New York among non-conforming Communists whose allegiance to the party of the late Leon Trotsky confused the public who viewed them as 'liberals' or socialists with no designs on violent revolution and overthrowing the Government. The reference was intended to include also the 'Shachtmanites,' the 'Cannonites' and the non-Stalin Communists who are members of the Socialist Party and those associated with the Lawrenson-Keith-Drummond coalition."

For Lundeberg, the designation 'Trotskyite" is intended as a weapon against his opposition in Seattle gathered around the Mahoney Defense Committee which is fighting for union democracy in the Sailors Union of the Pacific. The condition for Lundeberg's participation in the Washington Conference is contained in point 3 of the joint statement:

"That we unanimously agree not to use the anti-labor provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act against each other, and each union agrees it will give no aid and comfort to any group or individuals of any other union using the Taft-Hartley Act in litigation against a union. Such cases shall be regarded as internal matters of the union involved."

SEATTLE OPPOSITION

This statement is intended to isolate the Seattle opposition and to bar any support to it. It is based on the patent falsehood that the Mahoney Committee has had recourse to the Taft-Hartley Law. Not a single fact substantiates it. Denied recourse to democratic procedures in the union, the expelled seamen, including the entire crew of the Island Mail, who were illegally excluded, in many cases in collusion with the shipowners, have had recourse to the courts to regain their union membership without which they are deprived of a livelihood. But in not one case was this litigation based on the Taft-Hartley Law.

On the contrary, the Mahoney Committee declares in its statement to the Magnuson Committee (published in the Seattle paper, The Defender, March 21) that "The present system of employment for seamen through the Union Hiring Halls is the most satisfactory, as far as seamen are concerned, of all employment systems that have been tried."

The statement goes on to point out that certain abuses have appeared even under this system which it insists must be corrected. "The union officials elected to administer this system of hiring are invested with great power. They are held in check and forced to administer it honestly by the constant vigilance of the seamen who are served by this system of employment. But because of the power invested in them they [the officials] are able, under certain circumstances, to use their control of hiring against the membership of the union. If they can manage to expel a man from the union, they can deprive him of his right to earn a livelihood. Through expulsions and threats of expulsions in the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the officials of this union are gradually freeing themselves from the proper controls that must be exercised by the membership if the Union Hiring Hall is to continue to operate in the equitable and efficient manner that has been characteristic of it in the past. . .

"Any legislation designed to legalize the present system of hiring," the statement concludes, "must guarantee that the seamen who use the facilities of the hiring hall shall have control over its administration. That is the essence of the Union Hiring Hall system. That is why it has proved so successful."

Thus far, apparently through collusion between Lundeberg and Magnuson, the Mahoney Committee declaration has not seen the light of day in the Washington hearings.

RAIDING TO CONTINUE

The agreement between the unions in Washington not to use the Taft-Hartley Law against one another is in no sense a guarantee against jurisdictional raiding. In fact, indirectly the agreement even sanctioned the use of the law against the west coast longshoremen's union (ILWU) and the MC&S, which were excluded from the conference. It said nothing about the recent charges against the MC&S made under the "right to work" clause of the Taft-Hartley Act before an NLRB hearing by a Lundeberg dummy union (the Pacific Stewards Union).

The long knives of Hall-Lundeberg cannibal unionism have not been sheathed. On the contrary, they are being whetted for use when the hiring hall situation is cleared up. Dave Beck, teamsters czar, has already announced his intention to raid the ILWU and form "one maritime union" in "cooperation with the non-Communist employers." The independent Marine Firemen's union is deliberately being squeezed out of agreements by Lundeberg with all new ship operators on the west coast. The scabbing of the SIU in the Union Oil strike on the West Coast, where they raided NMU ships struck in sympathy, and against Isbrandtsen line ships struck by the CIO engineers for a union hiring hall, remained unmentioned and unprotested at the conference at least so far as its public pronouncements are concerned.

PERVERT ASPIRATIONS

Once again, the aspirations of the rank and file seamen for genuine unity of all maritime unions have been perverted by their cynical bureaucratic leaders. Today, for the first time, Curran of the CIO and Malone of the independent firemen, are united with Hall and Lundeberg of the AFL — to guarantee "stable" "responsible" hiring halls to the shipowners, to persecute militants and radicals, to crush all opposition to their sell-outs and dictatorships. Tomorrow, Hall and Lundeberg will unite with the shipowners to carve up their present allies and their unions.

The rank and file seamen will face rough weather until they regain the helm of the unions and of the hiring halls from the hands of bureaucrats and shipowners.

Italian Police Against Strikers

An injured worker is carried away after being brutally attacked by Rome police during a 12-hour nationwide general strike called by the General Confederation of Labor. At right, helmeted troops round up strikers. The demonstration was called against the government's attempts to enforce arbitrary powers to declare almost any strike illegal.

Letters from Our Readers

Professors Retreat On Calif. Oath Fight

Editor:

The article in **The Militant** dealing with the rejection of a new loyalty oath by University of California professors has another side. At the beginning both the professors and their academic colleagues showed plenty of spunk in resisting efforts by the government to control their thoughts and their teaching, but under the pressure of the Board of Regents and the State of California which threatens to fire them, their spines are slowly but surely bending backwards.

A mail referendum conducted by the Academic Senate saw a vote of 1,154 to 136 with 33 abstentions, for two resolutions which would bar members of the Communist Party or "subversives" from teaching at the University. The struggle against the reactionary loyalty oath has become a struggle against one particular form of the oath. The two resolutions are:

1. All members will subscribe to the constitutional oath of loyalty sworn by officers of public trust in the State of California as prescribed in Article XX, Section 3 of the Constitution of the State of California.

"All future letters of acceptance of salary and position will contain a statement that the person concerned accepts such position subject to the University's policies embodied in the regent's resolution of Oct. 11, 1940 and June 24, 1949, excluding members of the Communist Party from employment in the university.

"2. No person whose commitments or obligations to any organization, communist or other, demonstrably prevent impartial scholarship and the free pursuit of truth will be employed by the university. Proved members of the Communist Party by reason of such commitments to that party are not acceptable as members of the faculty."

The southern section of the academic section submitted a proposal to the Board of Regents that they repeal the requirement of the special oath and permit its members to demonstrate their loyalty by taking the standard oath, and by submitting to the university's policy of excluding members of the Communist Party in the signing of teaching contracts. Further they add that they "will not tolerate subversive activity by any of their members."

John Francis Neylan, head of the special regents committee dealing with so-called "Communist matters" indicated his satisfaction with the capitulation and stated, "By an overwhelming vote the faculty has joined the regents in declaring Communists unfit for employment."

We can well sympathize with the plight of students trying to learn anything from such a mess of unprincipled professors.

Al Lynn,
Los Angeles, Calif.

May Call Memphis "Labor Holiday"

Editor:

More and more workers are learning the need for united mass action to protect themselves and win their just demands. At a recent mass meeting of over 700 in Memphis, the workers voted overwhelmingly to call a "labor holiday" of all CIO workers if the American Snuff Co. strike was not settled satisfactorily.

This strike has been under a vicious attack by the city police and newspapers. Ed Meeman, editor of the Press-Scimitar, who is a hero of the liberals in Memphis because of his liberal editorial policy, has spearheaded an attack against the strikers which has completely distorted the facts and issues in their struggle. CIO workers, who formerly considered him their friend, are now boycotting his paper.

Memphis workers have gotten a rapid union and political education since 1939. At that time there were only a few skilled workers organized in the AFL and a handful of workers in the Inland Boatman's division of the National Maritime Unions. When large corporations began coming into Memphis to take advantage of "cheap and docile" labor and Memphis workers learned the difference between their wages and conditions and those of organized workers, their battlecry became: "Join the CIO!"

At first they thought that John L. Lewis could organize them by spending money in the right places, or that it could be done through the National Labor Relations Board without any real effort on their own part. But the difficulties of organizing in a typical Southern city have taught them much, and today they are preparing themselves for that time when they will all strike together.

Lee Ryan,
St. Louis, Mo.

Wallaceite Crisis Seen in N.Y. Dispute

Editor:

The political crisis in the Progressive Party, already evident at the Chicago convention, came to the fore clearly here in New York on March 19, when the party leadership forced the Young Progressives to call off a picket line in protest against the banning of Paul Robeson from Mrs. Roosevelt's television program on NBC.

The State Executive of the YPA had proposed a picket line and YPA youth pitched in with real enthusiasm, preparing leaflets, placards, and enlisting support. When they showed up and found no trace of a picket line, they were bewildered. Told to report to a meeting at the Hotel Capitol, where they would get an "explanation," they went but they were angry about it.

This is the line they were handed by the party leadership: Of course, the Progressive leaders agree on picketing, but it would be wrong for the YPA to run such a demonstration on their own, for such a move would injure the prospects for unity between the party and the masses who still retain faith in the old parties. "Even worse, it would threaten the unity existing in the Progressive movement itself."

Instead of undertaking demonstrations on their own, the YPA members were told to go back to their communities and enlist the support of other groups. They were urged to concentrate on extensive petition campaigns, and on sending postcards of protest to Mr. Charles Denny of NBC and Mrs. Roosevelt. "The YPA must remember to be responsible in its actions."

This did not go over well with the youth. They pointed out they had 300 people ready to picket, which certainly would make an impressive picket line. Did we just sit around talking when Peekskill happened? one inquired. There were expressions of discontent over "wasting time with petitions and postcards that end up in somebody's wastebasket." There were demands that the leadership reconsider and come out with a militant program of action.

The meeting got stormy and the leaders then began to snipe at the youth who had not been convinced. "There are some people here who are trying to cause trouble — they're just the people you never see ready to do petition work." Another hinted that the rebellious youth were following the Hearst line, "trying to isolate the Progressives and cause a split among us."

But the clearest indication of what was bothering the Progressive leaders was given by one who said that the unity of the movement was in danger: "We know the accusation current that the Progressive is always ready to attack the United States and that it never attacks the Soviet Union. Some leaders of our party feel that since Paul Robeson says he stands behind the Soviet Union. . ." He was interrupted by hissing and booing, but he had made his point so everyone understood what was involved.

When some YPA members continued to insist on talking, the Stalinist hacks began to yell and interrupt them: "Sit down! If we had acted this way at the convention, there would be no Progressive Party. Let's keep the unity of the party and of the YPA."

In the end, the YPA members agreed to accept the orders of the party leaders, but many of them did so very reluctantly. The crisis in the Progressive movement was not solved at the Chicago convention; apparently it will be breaking out over even the most practical activities.

Student,
New York City

Likes Articles by Germain, Swabeck

Editor:

I wish to congratulate you on Ernest Germain's most interesting and informative column, **European Notebook.** It has everything that the capitalist columns lack — namely, information.

Arne Swabeck's articles on the A-Bomb and H-Bomb were very good. I would like to see more of them or others like it.

D. P.,
Duluth, Minn.

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TROTSKY

"Lincoln's significance lies in his not hesitating before the most severe means, once they were found to be necessary, in achieving a great historic aim posed by the development of a young nation. The question lies not even in which of the warring camps caused or itself suffered the greatest number of victims. History has different yardsticks for the cruelty of the Northerners and the cruelty of the Southerners in the Civil War. A slave-owner who through cunning and violence shackles a slave in chains, and a slave who through cunning or violence breaks the chains — let not the contemptible eunuchs tell us that they are equals before a court of morality!"
— Leon Trotsky, Their Morals and Ours, 1938

LENIN

Political Court Decisions

The U. S. Court of Appeals approval, by 2-1 vote, of Truman's "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist of organizations gives judicial sanction to government by decree and, in effect, nullifies government by constitution. If the rulings in the Dorothy Bailey and International Workers Order cases stand, it will mean the end of constitutional liberties in America.

In the case of Dorothy Bailey, fired from her government job as "disloyal" without even the opportunity to hear the "evidence" against her or confront her accusers, the courts said that the President "may remove from government service any person of whose loyalty he is not completely convinced without assigning any reason and without giving the employee any explanatory notice."

In the IWO case, the court held that the President, through the Attorney General's office, can brand any organization as "subversive" and "disloyal" and those labels may be attached to anyone in any way associated with such organizations, also without evidence or hearings.

It is obvious that this gives the President enormous punitive powers against any individuals and organizations he chooses to label "disloyal." And these powers may be exercised by mere decree, without trial by jury, proof, confrontation of witnesses or any other safeguards provided by the Bill of Rights.

But the court went much further in supporting its rulings. It openly based its findings not on the law, but on political considerations. It stated that "it so happens that we are presently in an adversary position to a government whose most successful method of contest is the infiltration of a government service by its sympathizers. . . in so far as the circumstances imposed hardship upon the individual, the exigencies of government . . . under current conditions must prevail, as they always must when a similar clash arises."

This can mean but one thing: The President can set aside the Constitution any time he feels that the "exigencies of government" — that is, political considerations — warrant it. The constitutional rights of citizens may be blasted at will by presidential fiat.

Here is the most positive proof that the court rendered a purely political decision. And it is such a decision as can lay the basis for dictatorship and the police-state. Once again we have evidence that the courts are not impartial agencies, but instruments of political struggle. They are not guardians of constitutional rights, but bulwarks of the ruling interests and their political policies.

The Pope on Strikes

Italy's Christian Democratic regime, headed by the former Vatican functionary De Gasperi, has unleashed a ferocious police and army assault on the nation-wide strike movement protesting the government's moves to pass laws illegalizing strikes and suppressing labor organizations. A tremendous armed force, with tanks and machine guns, has been wounding and killing demonstrating workers. In one day, more than 7,000 arrests were made.

This brutal and murderous attack has received the blessings of Pope Pius XII. He has publicly backed the Italian government's actions and denounced the workers' defense of their elementary rights. His address on March 26 in Rome linked "political strikes" to "atheistic" forces and to "universal moral decadence." He called the strikes in progress "revolts against the constituted authorities."

But religious sentiments and an aversion to sin are not what really motivate the Pope's pronouncement against strikes and specifically the present strikes in Italy. He has not thrown his weight behind the anti-labor outrages in Italy out of pious concern for moral abstractions. More material — and sordid — considerations are involved.

The Vatican is a chief beneficiary of Italian capitalism and its exploitation of the Italian workers. It controls many of Italy's banks; it has huge investments in Italian industries; it is the biggest landowner in the country.

Paralleling its bloody attacks on the workers, the Vatican-dominated regime of De Gasperi has been shooting down starving peasants who have engaged in land seizures. De Gasperi has taken care to write a section in his proposed land-reform bill which specifically exempts from division the more than a million acres owned by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The Pope's occasional references to "social justice" and the plight of the poor are a hypocritical cover for material self-interest. His cries against "atheistic communism" conceal a concern for the capitalist profit system to which the Vatican is inextricably linked.

That is why the Vatican remains, despite the Pope's social demagogy, a world "powerhouse of reaction," which everywhere opposes progressive change and blesses the most reactionary and bestial forms of capitalist rule — Franco's fascist dictatorship, the pro-Nazi king of Belgium, the police-terror regime of De Gasperi.

The Yugoslavs and the WFTU

As the purge of Stalinist-led unions continues inside the CIO, it becomes easier and easier for the Stalinists to accuse the CIO leadership of disrupting the unity and solidarity of the labor movement for reactionary political purposes — and to substantiate these charges.

But the Stalinist indignation over such practices is 100% hypocritical. For they themselves engage in precisely the same kind of bureaucratic and divisive reprisals against their opponents in the unions, wherever they are able to get away with it, in this country and abroad.

The latest example comes in a dispatch from Belgrade, reporting that the central committee of the Yugoslav trade unions had issued an appeal to all members of the Stalinist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions, protesting against the exclusion of the Yugoslav, Duro Salaj, from the WFTU secretariat on March 14.

In effect, the appeal charged, this meant the exclusion of the Yugoslav unions from the WFTU because Salaj, their chairman, represented them on the central committee of the WFTU.

Why are the Yugoslav representatives being driven out of the WFTU? For essentially the same reason that the Stalinists are driven out of the CIO. The WFTU leaders, committed to support of the Kremlin's reactionary foreign policy, cannot tolerate the presence of anyone who objects to their policy, just as the CIO leaders, committed to support of the State Department's reactionary foreign policy cannot tolerate the presence of anyone who objects to their policy.

In both cases, splits and expulsions are ruthlessly ordered and executed, bureaucracy runs rampant, the very remnants of democracy are swept away. In both cases, the real interests of the labor movement — working class unity and solidarity — are subordinated, subverted or ignored.

The methods and objectives of the labor lieutenants of the Kremlin are not fundamentally different from those of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. Their main disagreement arises over what brand of misleadership to saddle on the working class. Militant unionists must reject them both and continue the struggle for a new kind of labor leadership in this country and throughout the world — a leadership that will be independent of all varieties of exploiters and oppressors — a leadership that will be dependent only on the interests and aspirations of the working people.

The Yugoslav Elections And Workers Democracy

By John G. Wright

Belgrade has officially reported that 93.2% of those who voted in the March 19 elections cast their votes for the single slate of candidates offered by the Tito regime. No opposing parties or candidates were permitted to run but the oppositional elements were allowed to cast votes against the official slate.

This opposition has apparently been cut down to half its size of five years ago when in a similar single-slate election the Tito regime polled just under 89% of the votes. The main existing centers of opposition appear to be in strongly Catholic Croatia where in some districts, it is officially admitted, as many as one-fifth of the votes were cast against the slate.

Belgrade has hailed the results as a major victory for the regime. And in a limited sense this is true. The major issue in the official campaign was the struggle against the Kremlin and the Cominform bloc.

STRONG SUPPORT

The Yugoslav leaders conducted highly effective propaganda in this connection and made some of their sharpest exposures and criticisms to-date of the Kremlin, its policies and its role. In the struggle against the Kremlin and its puppets as well as against intervention by Western imperialists, the Tito regime unquestionably has the overwhelming support of the people, and this found its reflection in the election results.

It is also evident that the regime generally enjoys great popularity and support in the country. It is stronger today than at the time of the break with the Cominform in June 1948.

But the sweeping claims of Belgrade concerning the "democratic character" of its regime are not borne out either by the election results or by the nature of these elections.

During the campaign Tito justified the exclusion of all other parties and candidates save those of the "Popular Front" on the ground that "if any one wishes to present another program it must be a program opposed to socialism." In other words, the contention is made that oppositional parties or candidates could and would only be pro-capitalist and counter-revolutionary in character.

This begs the question because oppositional elements and critics can by no means be limited to such types. The proscription of counter-revolutionary parties is, of course, wholly justifiable and entirely within the province of the government and its powers. Belgrade possesses more than ample means for dealing with such elements, let alone outlawing them.

But what about those elements and groups who take their position firmly on anti-capitalist and pro-socialist bases, but who disagree with this or that official policy? The socialist movement can never benefit from their suppression and their inability to voice their views. Only the forces of capitalist counter-revolution, as well as the bureaucratic tendencies that play into the hands of capitalism, stand to benefit from this.

THE PROPER CONTRAST

The Yugoslav leaders make a big point of contrasting their elections with those held under Stalin. Let us grant that their elections are not such outright frauds as Stalin's. But the true contrast that should be made is between their regime and the one set up in the Soviet Union in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

From the standpoint of revolutionary socialism, we here come to the really basic criticism of the Tito regime and also of its elections. Instead of a bastardized version of the capitalist parliamentary machinery and state structure (first set up by Stalin in the USSR under his "democratic Constitution" and later imitated by Belgrade), the Soviet state under Lenin and Trotsky scrapped this altogether, replacing it with entirely new state forms. The real power was placed in the hands of the mass organizations of the Russian working class, its democratically elected Soviets, its freely functioning trade unions, its revolutionary party, where the freest play was allowed to divergent tendencies and views even at the height of the Civil War.

Far more pertinent than all the statistics of a plebiscite such as the one recently conducted in Yugoslavia, are answers to such questions as these:

PERTINENT QUESTIONS

How much democracy is there inside the Yugoslav Communist Party? How free are its members to discuss and decide all the vital issues at home and abroad confronting the Yugoslav working class and the world proletariat?

To what extent are the Yugoslav trade unions under the thumb of the bureaucratic leadership? Or have the mass of the workers themselves the final say about determining the leadership and the policies?

And finally, where are the democratically elected Soviets, the genuine organs of proletarian power?

The Tito regime will have to provide clear and forthright answers on these all-important questions to all the workers who sympathize with and support Yugoslavia against the Kremlin and against the Western imperialists.

SP EXPRESSES REGRETS OVER SDF UNITY DELAY

The March 17 **Call** printed an article by Harry Fleischman, national secretary of the Socialist Party, expressing the SP's regrets that the Social Democratic Federation leadership had voted to postpone consideration of the proposal to merge the two organizations.

Fleischman noted the fact that the SDF National Executive Committee decision went counter to the wishes of a majority of the SDF members, as expressed in a recent referendum. But of course he did not chide the SDF leaders for displaying a rather curious attitude toward democracy in their own organization.

Instead he gave them a friendly little lecture on the great "psychological boost unity would give to Socialists throughout the world" and on the "large number of socialists not now affiliated with either organization who would have joined a united organization."

He also revealed that shortly before the SDF leadership had turned down action on merger, the NEC of the SP had proposed not only that the two organizations hold simultaneous conventions but also "that each organization allow dual membership should the simultaneous conventions find agreement on controversial issues impossible at this time."

But, Fleischman sadly reports, "It appears that this proposal was not considered at the SDF committee meeting, although it has precedents in that a vice-chairman of the SDF, Dr. William Van Essen, is also a member of the Socialist Party."

In spite of these rude rebuffs, Fleischman expressed gratification at the SDF decision to join with the SP in organizing a "Socialist Bureau" which will "serve as a united center" for American Social Democrats, and promised the SP's cooperation in this undertaking.

Since simultaneous conventions were out of the question, the SP finally announced the date and place of its own convention — Detroit, June 2-4. The main question to be settled there will be the party's attitude toward the proposal of its NEC, calling for the abandonment of independent electoral activity as a step toward becoming a left wing of the Democratic Party through such transmission belts as the ADA and the New York Liberal Party.

[According to Fleischman, the SDF decision against unity was by a vote of 10 to 2. The figure given in the March 13 **Militant** — 11 to 0 — was based on a report printed in the March 4 New Leader.]

WALLACEITES CONSIDER DEAL WITH DEMOCRATS IN N. J.

NEWARK, March 27 — It is possible that the Progressive Party may work out a deal with the Democrats which will result in the withdrawal of one of the three Wallaceite candidates for Congress from New Jersey this year.

As was previously reported in **The Militant**, the Wallaceites, in accord with their 1950 election policy, filed candidates in only the 3rd, 6th and 12th districts, although they ran seven in 1948 and have the forces to get on the ballot in all 14 districts.

All three of the seats which they decided to contest are now held by Republicans. In one of these districts, the 12th, a very close race is expected between the two major parties. In 1948 the Wallaceite, Katharine Van Orden, got over 5,000 votes, or more than the margin by which the incumbent Republican, Robert W. Kean, defeated the Democrat, Harry Dudkin.

According to yesterday's Newark **Star Ledger**, "The attempt [by the Democrats] to persuade Mrs. Van Orden to withdraw from the November elections has gone so far as asking Rep. Marcantonio of New York to intervene with Mrs. Van Orden. . . Marcantonio has made no promise but has indicated to at least one New Jersey contact that he might talk to Progressive Party leaders about the Van Orden candidacy."

The article also said that William Boyle, Democratic national committee chairman, "is reportedly aware of the attempt to get Mrs. Van Orden to withdraw."

HER STATEMENT

The candidate's own statement said that she intended to remain in the race, but it was not a flat rejection of a deal: "If I withdraw — and there are no present indications that I'm going to take this action — it would depend on a lot of things."

The statement did not amplify what she means by "a lot of things." But the recent Progressive convention made it possible for the Wallaceites to give their support to almost any candidate of the old parties.

If the proposed deal doesn't go through, it won't be because the Wallaceites have any principled objections to it but because they haven't been offered enough in exchange.

Starving Jobless "Studied" in Calif.

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, March 23 — Gov. Earl Warren has established a special committee on farm labor problems, which he called a "complex and very troublesome social problem." Militant readers may remember the ten babies who starved to death in San Joaquin Valley last fall.

In the State Senate a resolution was proposed by Jess R. Dorsey (R), requesting federal aid for the unemployed farm workers, especially in the heavily hit San Joaquin Valley. Its author denied that there was any starvation among the farm workers but cited **"a lack of food."**

State Senator Earl Desmond (D) was opposed to distributing free foodstuffs to the needy in the same areas where they are produced since "it might drive prices down." Besides, said Desmond, **"I don't personally know that anyone in the central valley is hungry."**

The figures printed last week on California employment were incompletely identified. The 681,000 now working in the state include only manufacturing employees and not agricultural, self-employed or government workers.

Calif. Alien Land Law Ruled Unconstitutional

LOS ANGELES — Superior Court Judge Thurmond Clarke has ruled the 37-year old California Alien Land Law unconstitutional in the Masaoka brothers case. Five brothers, Americans of Japanese descent, sought to make a gift of a home to their widowed mother, who was born in Japan and has lived here since 1905 — a gift forbidden under the law. The judge ruled that the law "is directed against persons of Japanese ancestry solely because of race" and "seeks to impair the constitutionally protected civil rights to acquire, own and enjoy real property," thus violating the 14th Amendment. The state is expected to appeal the judge's ruling to the State Supreme Court.

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THE STATE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN INDIA

By Joseph Keller

A few months ago, when India's Prime Minister Nehru paid a visit to this country, he was asked some questions about the state of civil liberties under his government. Nehru gave no satisfactory answers. Since then there have arrived in this country four large well-documented pamphlets on civil liberties in India that provide a clear picture of the conditions Nehru was apparently anxious to conceal.

The pamphlets are products of the Indian Civil Liberties Conference held in Madras last July 16-17 and contain reports of the proceedings and discussions that took place there. Among other things, they reveal the following:

Under the notorious slogan of "opposition to Communism," the Congress Party, the ruling party in the land, has issued decrees which "legitimately" deprive the trade unions, the peasant organizations and political opponents of every civil right.

Savage attacks are launched against peasants who dare to ask for their lawful share of the crop from the landowners. Workers who organize and strike are mercilessly beaten; their leaders are jailed; their unions outlawed and replaced by the government-run trade union, the INTUC.

A "detention" law empowers any police officer to hold for three months anyone he may "reasonably expect" to "create a disturbance." Under this statute, tens of thousands of men and women have been imprisoned without trial, starved, maltreated, and often kept in jail indefinitely, in arrogant disregard of even this "legal" time limit.

The system of collective fines, instituted by the British, has been revived by the Nehru regime. Poverty-stricken villagers are forced to pay for the alleged "crimes" of individuals, driving whole communities into debt and the clutches of money-lenders.

Like Conditions Under British Rule

Shocking police brutality and flouting of the law by local magistrates have brought protests even from many members of the Congress Party in the Provincial Assemblies. In many cases, the detention laws have been turned against dissident members of the Congress Party, to keep them obedient to the Nehru leadership.

Human life is held as cheaply by the Indian police as it was by the imperialist rulers. In Pandalapaka, for instance, textile workers went on strike after the management rejected a government arbitration decision. Strike leaders were arrested and beaten in prison; one old man was so badly beaten that he died the following day.

At Kodali, special police fired on an unarmed crowd at a cattle show because they were "noisy." An old man fell with a bullet in his thigh. Two were killed, one a lad of 17; and 20 people were injured.

In West Bengal, a student demonstration against the Security Bill was attacked with lathi charges, tear gas and guns. An ambulance worker, sitting in his jeep some distance away, was killed by a police bullet; authorities alibied later that the victim "had lost his life by rushing recklessly into the line of fire."

"I find no words to describe the atrocities of the police," a Congress member of the legislature declared in describing another outrage at Telaprolu. "They made people sit in lines and then beat them with lathis and tamarind canes. Serious wounds were inflicted on 50 people." In the same area, a workers' settlement was razed to the ground by goondas paid by the local employers. The police ignored the crime.

A farm worker was attacked by hirelings of the zamindar (landlord and rent-collector) in Bora Kamalpur Union. Peasants who surrounded the zamindar's house to protest were driven off with brick-bats. By the time the police arrived, the peasants had dispersed. Yet the police preferred charges of robbery and housebreaking against the peasants, raided their homes, imposed arbitrary curfews, arrested over 100 peasants for going outdoors to get water, wounded many and killed several. The zamindar, of course, went scot-free.

The Atrocities of the Police

In East Bengal, a peaceful demonstration of 200 women appealed to the government for better treatment of those jailed under the "security" decrees. As the procession, joined by a few young men, moved down the street, police attacked the marchers. The toll: Four women and three men slain, an unknown number injured. The Bengal government proclaimed that the police had "opened fire in self defense," although no policeman was killed or seriously hurt.

In Bombay, a 70-year old woman, Bhani Hatha, was killed as she stood on her veranda watching demonstrators in a sweeper's strike. The police fire which murdered her also wounded a child and many of the strikers.

Teachers attempting to secure improvements in their pitiful wages "got lathis instead of relief from the government," another report says. "As the lathi charge started, some policemen were seen pushing, dragging and slapping the girls. Two of the girls who received lathi blows fainted on the street. An aged teacher fell on the ground with a wound on her head." Twenty students and three teachers were arrested. Radhey Shyam, Assembly leader of the Congress Party, protested: "It was a scene familiar in the pre-Congress regime. The processionists were non-violent and they were lathi-charged mercilessly."

Corruption, Violence, Mass Jailings

As opposition to the pro-landlord, pro-capitalist rule of the Congress Party grows, the government uses similar violence to prevent the election of Socialist Party candidates. "In Gorakhpur, a [Socialist] Party worker, Rishidev, lost his life as a result of injuries received from Congress agents. Patwaris, constables and police officers brought the voters, under compulsion, and made them vote for the Congress."

At Kilsagar, Congress workers seized 350 ballots and destroyed 192 of them. The authorities winked.

The old princely rulers work hand-in-glove with the Congress Party. Another Socialist Party report states: "The Raja of Oudh stationed himself at one of the polling booths with a revolver in hand. Backed by 50 goondas, he challenged anyone to vote for the Socialists. In spite of this, the polling for the [Socialist] party candidate was brisk. So the goondas started assaulting the people. Then the polling was peremptorily stopped and the injured voters removed to the hospital."

It is difficult to get complete figures on the number of trade union and political leaders imprisoned by Nehru, but the actual scope may be gauged by the admission of the Congress Party of one province — Madras. According to a statement made in the Provincial Legislature, 9,983 members of the Communist and Socialist parties in Madras alone had been "detained" as of Jan. 31, 1949. The number has increased greatly since then. The All-Indian Trade Union Congress reports that throughout India 25,000 of its members have been detained for their trade union activities. Included are "all the prominent leaders of the Central Executive of the AITUC, such as the president, secretaries, etc."

This is only part of the information presented at the Indian Civil Liberties Conference at Madras. The four pamphlets are now available through Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Thompson Faces Reutherite In Ford Local 600 Run-Off

Tommy Thompson, incumbent president of UAW Ford Local 600, received the highest vote in the local election last week, but not a majority. He will face the Reutherite-ACTU candidate, Carl Stellato, who ran second, in a run-off election. The Stalinist-supported candidate ran a poor third, but made the run-off necessary.

Safety Council Reports Job Death Toll

More than 15,000 workers were killed in on-the-job accidents and the loss of production from all industrial accidents was equivalent to the removal of 1,000,000 workers from the labor force in 1949. These were the appalling tolls of industrial death and losses which were reported in the convention of the Greater N. Y. Safety Council held last week.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIV — MONDAY, APRIL 3, 1950 — NUMBER 14

The H-Bomb Isn't All

By Fred Hart

If American imperialism's H-Bomb fails to wipe out all humanity in the next war for which the capitalists are preparing, Washington is readying some additional weapons of annihilation that are guaranteed to complete the job.

The March 17 N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun reports the results of a United Press survey of "'secret' and semi-secret weapons now ready or in the world's laboratories" — meaning, in U. S. laboratories.

Truman's H-Bomb will continue to "top all terror weapons." But the trouble with the H-Bomb is that "it is actually so powerful there are only a handful of targets large enough to warrant it: New York, London, Moscow, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and a few other places with more than 1,000,000 population."

Washington regards as sheer waste the use of a bomb that could wipe out New York's eight million people in the blink of an eye on some picayune spot where there are less than a million men, women and children congregated. So the economy-minded capitalist politicians and militarists have devised more efficient means of mopping up the smaller and less dense areas of population. These, rated in order of their deadly efficiency, are:

1. "Germ bombs, to spread plague and panic in big cities" and to spread disease among live stock and destroy plant life. Those who don't die of disease in world-wide epidemics spread through biological warfare, will die of starvation because of germ-blasted animals and crops.

2. "Atom bomb, also useful against large concentrations of troops and ships unless they fight in small units." Even the improved atom bomb, whose crude forebears wiped out two sizable Japanese cities with one blast apiece, is now rated third in efficiency.

3. "Radioactive clouds, to lay waste agricultural areas and cities" — just so you won't think you will be safer in the suburbs or out in the country.

4. "'Sound bombs,' a misleading term for use of prolonged high-pitched noises which some scientists think will break civilian morale as diabolically as anything yet conceived." The insane capitalist rulers figure to drive everybody else crazy before finishing them off with atomic radiations and microbes.

Finally, (5.) "Poison gas, of which there are new heavy types not dissipated by high winds and for which there is no known antidote." They no longer talk about poison gas being "too horrible" for "humane" warfare.

We are also informed that "guided missiles can carry most of the foregoing death and destruction over ever-increasing distances into the cities and towns and even little villages."

These weapons, you will note, are not designed for use against opposing military forces. They are primarily weapons of civilian annihilation. On the basis of this survey, the World-Telegram concludes that the "fighting front will be safest" when next war looses horrors."

Will the future recruiting posters read: "Join the Army — Escape H-Bomb, Germs, A-Bomb, Radio-Active Clouds, Sound-Bombs and Poison Gas"?

Maybe. But if the workers of America don't take the power away from the capitalist rulers and halt the war plans, there may not be anybody alive to recruit.

High Court and Jim Crow

By William E. Bohannan

According to some reports in the press, the Truman administration is not even going to bring up the FEPC bill in the Senate until May. As everyone knows, the later it is brought up, the harder it will be to overcome a filibuster by the opponents of the bill.

Meanwhile, attention is going to be shifted for a while to the U. S. Supreme Court which is scheduled to hear a number of appeals against segregation early in April. At that time the NAACP will present to the court its arguments in three cases challenging the "separate but equal" doctrine which has served as the foundation-stone for segregation in the South for a great many decades.

One of the cases concerns Heman Marion Sweatt, who was denied admission to the University of Texas Law School and told to attend a good-for-nothing Jim Crow school; another concerns G. W. McLaurin, who was forced to sit outside the regular classrooms in the University of Oklahoma graduate school; and the third concerns Elmer W. Henderson, who was refused a dining car seat alongside of whites on a Southern railroad.

Many Negroes, disheartened by the runaround they have been getting in Congress, are placing a great deal of hope in the Supreme Court action on these cases. They hope that the court will reverse its 1896 decision in the Plessy case, which ruled that segregation was legal so long as Negroes got "separate but equal" facilities. They hope that the court will outlaw segregation even if Congress won't.

I don't want to seem like a wet-blanket. Hope is a good thing, especially when it is backed up by mass action. But a hope of that kind is one thing, and an empty illusion is another. It is necessary to bear in mind what the Supreme Court is. It is just another department of the capitalist government, and its entire past record proves that it is just as devoted to Jim Crow as any other department.

The Supreme Court has a reputation for liberalism, but this reputation is undeserved. Even when it ruled a few years ago that restrictive covenants cannot be enforced by the courts, it went out of its way to add that the covenants themselves are still legal. Since then the court has acquired Southern Democrat Tom Clark, who cannot be described as anything but an enemy of the Negro struggle for equality.

But, some people ask, if the court doesn't intend to throw out the "separate but equal" doctrine then why do its members bother to hear the appeal in these three cases? The main reason I would say, is because they have their reputation for liberalism to sustain. But it doesn't follow that they will knock out segregation. What they can do in these cases is rule that the plaintiffs did not get "equal" facilities, order the Southern states to provide better Jim Crow facilities, and let it go at that, maintaining the system of segregation intact.

Judging by their past decisions, that is what they will probably do. In any case, we have no reason to sit back and relax now. In the future, like in the past, we will not get anything without fighting for it.

Case of Seretse Khama

By Albert Parker

The prosperity and power of Western capitalism used to rest on its colonies, especially Asia. But since Asia is being torn out of their exploiting hands by mass uprisings and revolutions, the colonial center of attraction has moved to Africa. It is no secret that Britain, in particular, looks fondly forward to recovering its former proud position by the super-exploitation of this vast area for another fifty or a hundred years.

But this great expectation is doomed to disappointment. There has been a notable growth of nationalist sentiment throughout the British colonies in Africa since the end of the war; labor organizations are being built and courageous strikes have broken out despite cruel repressions. In other words, Africa is going the way of Asia — a little more tardily, perhaps, but just as surely. The case of Seretse Khama is both an example and a symbol of this trend.

Seretse, 27-year old chief of Bechuanaland, a small British "protectorate" surrounded by the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia and Southwest Africa, had married a white typist while he was studying in England and had returned with her to rule over his tribe. The South African authorities were outraged at this affront to their official white supremacy doctrines, and fearful of the effects it might have inside South Africa and neighboring countries. They tried to get his uncle to stir up a rebellion against Seretse over this marriage. But the subchieftains refused to be taken in, and recognized Seretse's right to rule.

A few weeks ago Seretse was called to London for a conference. There a British government official offered him a bride to abdicate. When he refused, they announced that Seretse had been exiled from Bechuanaland for five years. The imperialists have often done things like this, and usually got away with it without difficulty. But not in this case — despite the tiny size of Bechuanaland and the fact that they already had Seretse in their power.

In the first place, Seretse resisted, appealing for help. In the second place, his tribe resisted too. The sub-chiefs, pledging to continue the fight against the ban, informed British authorities that they would pay no further taxes without their chief's authority. When the British high commissioner called them to a meeting where he would "explain" his government's action, they announced a boycott and he had to call it off.

In addition, the **Pittsburgh Courier** reports, "Tension mounted everywhere, as black legislators in Ceylon, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Kenya, Tanganyika and the West Indies denounced the government, and high colored officials whose positions and future depend upon standing in well with the powers-that-be, risked everything in loud tongue-lashings of the London regime." In England Dr. Arthur Lewis, West Indian professor of economics at Manchester University, expressed his protest by resigning from the Colonial Economic and Development Council.

Members of the British Labor Party protested some because they were angered by the government's trickery, others because they realized that the government was playing into the hands of the Tory opposition. Churchill, whose life has been spent in upholding the empire and repressing colonial aspirations for freedom, seized hold of the cheap opportunity to pose as a liberal, just as he had seized hold of the "peace" issue during the election campaign. Many conservative British papers followed Churchill's suit; their real motivation was expressed by the **Daily Mail** which complained: "By their stupidity, they [the government] may inflame Bechuanaland. The thing is bad." Bad, that is, from the imperialist stand point.

In the end the British government had to back down. It did so with poor grace, by agreeing to let Seretse return to his native land until the birth of his child, which is expected in the summer. It appears that, barring unforeseen developments, the British government will try to let people forget about the hornet's nest it stirred up.

Yes, things have changed in Africa too. The reaction of the tribes in Bechuanaland is only a tiny forecast of the explosions to come. For the masses of Africa, like the rest of the colonial peoples, are being "inflamed," if we may use the **Daily Mail** word — inflamed by the desire for freedom from imperialist exploitation and despotism. And that desire will not be quenched, whether the imperialists act "stupidly" or "wisely," until the Africans have achieved their full emancipation.

New Edition

THEIR MORALS AND OURS

By Leon Trotsky

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Compromise Stand On Civil Rights At Queens Parley

JAMAICA, L. I., Mar. 26 — The Long Island Conference on Civil Rights was held here today under the auspices of the local ALP, NAACP and various other liberal and labor organizations. The Stalinists, who had previously defeated in panel session a proposal to defend Trotskyists and other victims of the witch-hunt, permitted a compromise resolution to be passed unanimously in the plenary session. This included the proviso that "all organizations convicted under the Smith Act be pardoned" without specifying the organizations convicted.

In the most heavily attended panel session — "Right to Think" — under the chairmanship of Prof. Oscar Shaftel of Queens College, a YPA delegate proposed that the panel and conference go on record to demand the immediate repeal of the Smith Act and the granting of presidential pardons to the 11 Communist Party leaders and 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders "whose conviction under the Smith 'Gag' Act was used as a legal precedent for Foley Square."

Prof. Shaftel demanded that this proposal, in the form of a resolution, be withdrawn and that a general statement of opposition to the Smith Act be substituted instead. Referring to the N. Y. Bill of Rights Conference of last summer, Shaftel declared that it had been "almost sabotaged by just such a dispute over the same minor issue."

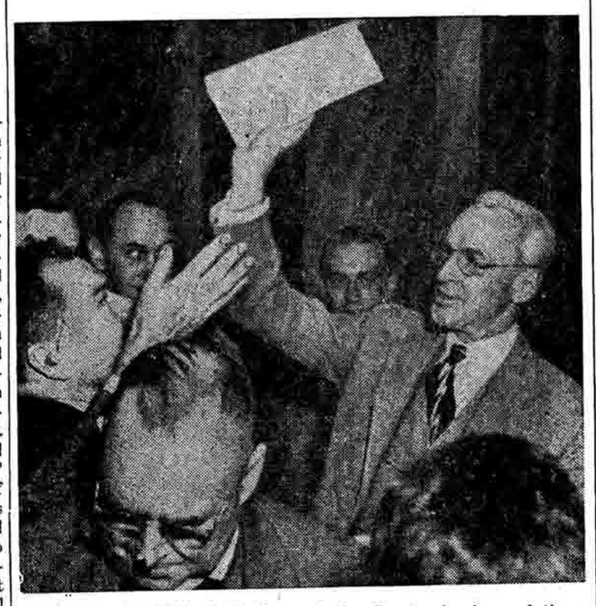
The YPA delegate pointed out that what Prof. Shaftel had labelled a "minor issue" touched the very heart of the struggle for civil rights which is indivisible and permits of no "double standard."

MADE MORE CAUTIOUS

Although this proposal received considerable support, including a number of prominent active NAACP members and the **National Guardian** representative, the Stalinists voted it down in panel, only to take a more cautious course later for fear of repercussions from the floor.

The results of this conference indicate that widespread resentment in liberal and Wallaceite circles against Stalinist disruption of the struggle against the witch-hunt has compelled the Stalinists to think twice before openly exposing their hand on the civil rights issue.

High Level Redbaiting



Chairman Millard Tydings of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee probing alleged Communist infiltration in the State Department examines a list of 81 individuals labeled bad security risks by Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R. Wis.). So far McCarthy hasn't proved anything but that the Republicans know how to witch-hunt as well as the Democrats.

Truman Prepares for Shift On Repeal of Taft-Hartley

To distract attention from the fact that he has abandoned even the pretense of a fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, Truman is attempting a diversionary maneuver. With great hullabaloo, he has proposed to Congress that it eliminate one of the hundreds of obnoxious features of the Slave Labor Law, the independent Office of General Counsel of the NLRB, and transfer his functions to the board itself.

The union leaders had focussed attention on this aspect of the law when they called on Truman to dismiss Robert E. Denham, the virulently anti-labor NLRB General Counsel appointed by the President.

Truman ignored organized labor's pleas, although he can fire Denham any time he pleases. Now he comes forward with the proposition that Congress do away with the office altogether by amending the Taft-Hartley Act.

Of course, even if Congress carries out his proposal — the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Branch has reported favorably on it — it will not make the Taft-Hartley Act any better for labor. It will merely eliminate a source of friction between two independently operating agencies with divided powers set up to administer the act. The infamous act with all its powers will remain intact.

HIS REAL ATTITUDE

Had Truman wished to show good faith in his promise to oppose the Taft-Hartley Act and fight for its abolishment, the least he could have done would have been to give Denham the gate. The fact that he would not even make this gesture to gratify the union leaders who were most responsible for his election further indicates his low regard and contempt for them, as well as his real anti-labor attitude.

Now, before the Congressional elections, he is making a move that will in no wise change the punitive and repressive nature of the Taft-Hartley Act, but will arouse a lot of controversy in Congress and make it appear that Truman is "doing something" to weaken the harsh features of the act.

If Congress does not approve the proposal, this will become one of Truman's big campaign issues to show how he "fought" for labor. Meanwhile, Denham will remain and Truman's opponents will get the blame for not liquidating Denham's office.

ELECTION STRATEGY

If Congress acts favorably, this wil be touted by Truman and the Trumanite union leaders as a "great victory." They will play it up to the skies, and offer this "great victory" as a substitute for a genuine showdown fight against the Taft-Hartley Law itself.

It will become the basis for shifting the struggle away from a fight for Taft-Hartley repeal, to moves to amend and patch up the Taft-Hartley Act to make it appear less odious. This is the strategy, in short, of retaining the Taft-Hartley Act but prettying it up with a thin "liberalizing" veneer.

ANOTHER RETREAT

Ever since the union leaders worked for Truman's election in 1948 on his promise to fight for unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, they have supinely agreed to one qualifying compromise after another. First, they agreed to the "single package" deal, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act only if another restrictive labor act was passed simultaneously. They ended up by supporting a substitute for the Taft-Hartley Act that contained all of its main features but the name.

Now they are preparing even to accept the name, provided Truman gives them some little meaningless amendments that will enable them to say it's "really not the same" act. And, of course it will enable them also to justify their continued support of Truman, the greatest presidential strikebreaker in history and the wielder of more anti-strike injunctions than all the other presidents put together.

RISING MASS UNEMPLOYMENT DEMANDS UNION ACTION NOW

(Continued from Page 1)

fast enough to provide jobs for those at both ends of the age scale — the young and the old."

"NOT DISPOSED"

The **Times** analyst puts a spotlight on the inaction of the Truman administration which, with the Congressional election campaign in the offing, "is not disposed to put much accent on the extent of idleness and the permanent character of the problem it presents. That is why economists in closest touch with the situation feel the economy is suffering a particularly 'pernicious' form of unemployment."

Truman is turning a blind eye on the unemployment situation in hopes of not drawing attention before election to the true conditions under his "Welfare State." And though millions of union men and women are out of jobs or working only part time, the Trumanite union leaders are doing little more than "deploring" conditions and voicing "alarm."

The AFL leaders who are "disturbed" and call for "action" in **Labor's Monthly Survey** say they want to "meet the problem now in a conservative way, and avoid the catastrophe of widespread unemployment, with huge outpourings of government funds for made-work and relief, and government controls."

NEW JOBS — HOW?

Their solution to the problem is "to set up committees to find new jobs" for the unemployed in the most hard-hit communities. How "new jobs" are to be created, without government expenditures, the AFL leaders don't say.

If the full extent of unemployment were made known, it would be shown that there are closer to 7-million than 5-million unemployed today. Several hundred thousand college and high school graduates will be hitting the labor market in June. Each year a total of more than two million new job-seekers enter the market.

This means that within two years — even if no major collapse of the capitalist economy occurs — there will be at least 10-million unemployed. That's a major catastrophe right in the midst of the "unprecedented prosperity" of which Senator McMahon boasted on March 25 at a $25-a-plate Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Hartford, where he glorified the Truman administration and its "welfare state" blessings.

WHAT IS NEEDED

If the catastrophe that the AFL leaders foresee is not to hit the American workers while they have little or no protection, then it will require a lot more action than the union leaders propose. It is far too late for the "conservative way" the AFL chiefs advocate.

It is time to mobilize organized labor for a full-scale drive for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. It is time to force the government to initiate large-scale public works on socially beneficial projects—housing, hospitals, schools, etc.—to give jobs to the unemployed at union pay. It is time for a demand, backed by nation-wide labor action, for unemployment insurance equal to union wages for the entire duration of joblessness.

This is the program that is needed now and which the "unprecedented prosperity" of the American capitalist "Welfare State" must be forced to provide.

VFW Spokesman Demands Thought-Control Penalties

Testifying at a House hearing, a representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars not only endorsed the Mundt-Nixon police-state bill but asked for "appropriate penalties" for those who embrace Communist Party principles.

Harold Laski, British Laborite, Dead at 56

Harold J. Laski, one-time chairman of the British Labor Party executive commitee and author of many books on labor and socialism, died in London on March 24 at the age of 56.

Fighting Spirit Remains High in Chrysler Ranks

DETROIT, March 28 — From all press reports, the Reuther leadership is engaged in discussing some kind of settlement in the 63-day old Chrysler strike that would forget virtually all contract needs and back down on even the meager 10c. an hour asked for pensions and insurance.

But the ranks of the auto workers remain determined to get a meaningful settlement. This conclusion is buttressed by the following:

1. At a Chrysler Local 7 meeting last Wednesday, President Joe Hattley was given a tremendous ovation when he exclaimed: "We've been out a few weeks, and we'll stay out a few weeks longer until we get a decent contract too."

2. At a mass meeting of 20,000 workers on March 7, Reuther brought down the house every time he used fighting language.

3. Solidarity persists on all token picket lines. Workers here resent proposals to arbitrate away contract demands or to give them up for miserly concessions.

NEW UNION FIGURE

The most recent action of the union negotiators was to call upon Chrysler for a pension and insurance fund of $53,140,000. This was after a company offer of $50,000,000 for pensions plus an unstated sum for insurance had been rejected. But the new union figure is little more than half the 10c. per hour request when the strike was called, and about one-fifth of the 30c. originally asked.

Even the latest union plan will likely be watered down further with a clause making it possible for the corporation to reduce the fund when, as is expected, Congress passes a better old-age pension law. The fund would maintain pensions at $100 a month — including government payments — and provide a cushion in case of sickness or death of workers.

Thus the spineless conduct of UAW leaders in signing the recent Ford agreement is having repercussions in retreat at Chrysler. Auto union heads had announced last September that Ford agreed to put 8¾c. an hour per worker into a fund, but now explain through a "clarified" agreement that the company need not do this. The "clarification" has seriously undermined the contract and 31c. pension-insurance demands on GM as well. (The GM contract expires May 29.)

BOSSES' STRATEGY

Union militants feel the auto barons — resting on bulging money bags — are taking advantage of Reuther's weak one-at-a-time strategy. Industrial tycoons bleed auto workers one-section-at-a-time, maneuver union leaders to give up the bulk of the membership's demands, and prepare the road for a later crushing of a demoralized union.

Only this can be in the minds of the corporation heads who continue the Chrysler strike after union leaders have given up 80% of their original demands, and negotiators are only two cents apart. Union leaders, on the other hand, cannot give up any more of the original demands, or they will not be able "to sell the program to the workers."

Militants are demanding: A common contract termination date for new Chrysler and GM agreements with the Ford settlement; immediate breaking off of GM negotiations and bringing GM workers out in a mutual offensive-defensive alliance with Chrysler; and acceptance of Lewis' loan and "mutual aid" offer to bring unity of auto workers with coal miners — material unity now, and direct alliance in all future battles.

GRAND JURY ABSOLVES KILLERS OF NEGRO VET

AKRON, March 24 — Fears for the future safety of Negro citizens of Akron rose this week when the Summit County Grand Jury failed to indict Policemen Wilcox and Pohl for the murder of Ernest Fenner, 26-year old Negro veteran who was shot to death by two bullets fired though the windshield of the police cruiser manned by Wilcox and Pohl on Feb. 9.

The report of the Grand Jury rejected evidence presented by 15 eye-witnesses to the slaying of Fenner, confirming that the shooting was unjustifiable homocide. Instead, the Grand Jury accepted the story of Wilcox that he was "in fear of harm to himself" when he fired two bullets into Fenner's back and stomach. Although police claim that Fenner beat on the windshield of their cruiser with some kind of a weapon, they were unable to produce the alleged weapon after an intensive search of the scene of the crime.

Witnesses stated that Fenner was eight to ten feet from the cruiser when he was shot and was clutching a length of stick one inch in diameter. A stick answering this description had been found at the scene and turned over to the NAACP. The Grand Jury refused to allow this piece of evidence, however, because it was embarrassing to the police. Wilcox and Pohl had earlier claimed that Fenner attacked the cruiser with an ax.

The young Negro veteran was suffering from a mental illness at the time of his death and had been receiving medical treatment from the VA.

"It is not our function to either praise or censure police methods used when an emergency of this kind is presented," the jury report said. "He [the policeman] is on the firing line and he gets only one guess."

Commenting editorially on the jury findings the Akron Informer, local Negro weekly, said:

"Robert Wilcox, the trigger-happy policeman has been cleared . . . Wilcox did not budge to get out of his cruiser to subdue Fenner. The two bullets. . . are silent and damnable testimony to the newly approved Akron police methods of subduing mentally sick veterans who have become so on far-flung battle fronts fighting for the rights of such as Robert Wilcox."

The Akron NAACP is petitioning Gov. Frank Lausche to order the setting up of a new grand jury panel here and a rehearing of the evidence in the Fenner murder. "It will take mass support to win a victory in this struggle—not just the efforts of a few men," said Attorney W. Howard Fort, chairman of the legal redress committee, in a report to NAACP members at the Second Baptist Church tonight.

Detroit Mayor Hit For Jim Crow Act

DETROIT — A mass meeting of the NAACP last week demanded the reinstatement of Rev. Robert Bradby, who was fired from the Detroit Housing Commission by Mayor Cobo because he opposed the policy of Jim Crow segregation in public housing projects.

When the present mayor met with the Mayor's Interracial Committee for the first time last week, Cobo criticized the committee for allowing "misunderstanding" to flourish in the Negro community about his program and the dismissal of Bradby.

It is believed that Cobo may be planning to remove from the committee the president of the Detroit NAACP, Edward M. Turner. Cobo was particularly caustic about reports in the Negro press that the NAACP is raising a fund to combat the administration's sham housing and slum clearance program. "Ninety per cent of the opposition to this program is agitation," said Cobo.

Rev. Bradby got a big hand at the NAACP meeting when he said it is time for the Negroes of Detroit to stand their ground and fight for their constitutional rights.

Freedom of Trade?

"We are losing our export market and foreign competition (Japanese) in the domestic market, will result in a sharp contraction of our output." So moaned the Textile manufacturers at a recent convention.

It seems as if just a "little bit" of the highly touted capitalist competition is too much for the American cut-throats.